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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.